

SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 2008

The Senate met at 2:00 p.m. in Commemorative Session in the General Court Chamber of the Reconstructed Capitol at Williamsburg, Virginia, pursuant to House Joint Resolution No. 200, and was called to order by Lieutenant Governor William T. Bolling.

The Reverend Andrew W. Ballentine, Jr., St. Stephen Lutheran Church, Williamsburg, Virginia, offered the following prayer:

O God, You have created all that exists, seen and unseen. Every human being is Your child. We look to the fulfillment of Your wishes for Your world: in which the weak and vulnerable are protected, and the riches of creation are accessible to all; a world in which different cultures and races live together in mutual respect, and peace is built through justice, and guided by love.

On this day we lift before You, in particular, all who govern this Commonwealth. Give our elected officials the clarity to know that their power is a trust from You to be used, not for personal glory or profit, but for the service of the people. Give them hope that will overcome cynicism. Give them openness to each other and honesty with each other. And give us all grace to live together in unity of purpose, according to Your wishes for Your creation.

In Your holy name we pray, Amen.

The roll was called and the following Senators answered to their names:

Barker, Blevins, Colgan, Hanger, Herring, Houck, Locke, Lucas, Miller, J.C., Miller, Y.B., Norment, Northam, Quayle, Reynolds, Saslaw, Smith, Stosch, Vogel, Whipple.

The Clerk stated that the Senate was represented.

**MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE
IMMEDIATE CONSIDERATION**

A message was received from the House of Delegates by Delegate Cole, who informed the Senate that the House had agreed to **H.J.R. 299** (two hundred ninety-nine), as follows; in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 299

Joint Assembly to receive the Governor and other distinguished guests.

RESOLVED by the House of Delegates, the Senate concurring, That the General Assembly meet this day at 2:30 p.m. in a joint commemorative session to receive the Governor of Virginia and other distinguished guests, and that the rules for the government of the Senate and the House of Delegates, when convened in joint assembly for such purpose shall be as follows:

1. At the hour fixed for the meeting of the Joint Assembly, accompanied by the President and Clerk of the Senate, the Senators shall proceed to the Hall of the House of Burgesses and shall be received by the Delegates standing. Appropriate seats shall be assigned to the Senators. The Speaker of the House shall assign an appropriate seat for the President of the Senate.

2. The Speaker of the House of Delegates shall be President of the Joint Assembly. In case it shall be necessary for him to vacate the Chair, his place shall be taken by the President of the Senate, or, in his absence, by such member of the Joint Assembly as the President of the Joint Assembly may designate.

3. The Clerk of the House of Delegates shall be the Clerk of the Joint Assembly, and he shall be assisted by the Clerk of the Senate. He shall enter the proceedings of the Joint Assembly in the Journal of the House and shall certify a copy of the same to the Clerk of the Senate, who shall enter the same in the Journal of the Senate.

4. The Rules of the House of Delegates, as far as applicable, shall be the rules of the Joint Assembly.

5. In calling the roll of the Joint Assembly, the names of the Senators shall be called in alphabetical order, then the names of the Delegates in like order, except that the name of the Speaker of the House shall be called last.

6. When the Joint Assembly adjourns, the Senators, accompanied by the President and Clerk of the Senate, shall return to their chamber, and the business of the House shall be continued in the same order as at the time of the entrance of the Senators.

On motion of Senator Saslaw, the reading of the joint resolution was waived.

H.J.R. 299, on motion of Senator Saslaw, was agreed to.

Senator Saslaw was ordered to inform the House of Delegates thereof.

JOINT ASSEMBLY

The President requested that, pursuant to House Joint Resolution No. 299, the Senators, accompanied by the President of the Senate and the Clerk of the Senate, proceed to the Hall of the House of Burgesses.

THE JOINT ASSEMBLY

The hour of 2:30 p.m. having arrived, being the time fixed by the joint resolution to receive the Governor of Virginia and other distinguished guests, the Senate of Virginia with its President, William T. Bolling, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, its President pro tempore, Charles J. Colgan, and its Clerk, Susan Clarke Schaar, proceeded to the Hall of the House of Burgesses and was received by the Delegates standing.

The roll of the Senate was called and the following Senators answered to their names:

Barker, Blevins, Colgan, Hanger, Herring, Houck, Locke, Lucas, Miller, J.C., Miller, Y.B., Norment, Northam, Quayle, Reynolds, Saslaw, Smith, Stosch, Vogel, Whipple.

There were 19 Senators present.

The roll of the House of Delegates was called and the following Delegates answered to their names:

Albo, Amundson, BaCote, Barlow, Bouchard, Bowling, Brink, Bulova, Caputo, Cole, Cosgrove, Cox, Dance, Frederick, Hall, Hamilton, Hargrove, Ingram, Janis, Landes, Lingamfelter, Marsden, Massie, Mathieson, McClellan, Merricks, Morgan, Morrissey, Nichols, O'Bannon, Oder, Orrock, Pogge, Rust, Sherwood, Suit, Tata, Vanderhye, Ward, Watts, Mr. Speaker.

There were 41 Delegates present.

The Speaker of the House of Delegates, William J. Howell, of Stafford, as President of the Joint Assembly, declared the Joint Assembly duly organized and ready to proceed to business.

The Senator from Fairfax, Senator Saslaw, offered the following resolution:

RESOLUTION OF THE JOINT ASSEMBLY

RESOLVED, That the Joint Assembly invite the Governor's Cabinet, the Justices of the Supreme Court of Virginia, the Chairman and President of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, and other distinguished persons to be its guests upon this occasion, and that a committee of five, consisting of two from the Senate and three from the House of Delegates, be appointed to present them to the Joint Assembly.

The resolution was agreed to.

The Senator from Fairfax, Senator Saslaw, offered the following resolution:

RESOLUTION OF THE JOINT ASSEMBLY

RESOLVED, That the Joint Assembly invite His Excellency, The Governor of Virginia, to be its guest upon this occasion and to address the Joint Assembly, and that a committee of five, consisting of two from the Senate and three from the House of Delegates, be appointed to present His Excellency to the Joint Assembly.

The resolution was agreed to.

The Senator from James City, Senator Norment, offered the following resolution:

RESOLUTION OF THE JOINT ASSEMBLY

RESOLVED, That the Joint Assembly invite Michael Beschloss to be its guest upon this occasion, and to address the Joint Assembly, and that a committee of five, consisting of two from the Senate and three from the House of Delegates, be appointed to present him to the Joint Assembly.

The resolution was agreed to.

The President appointed Senators Houck and Miller of Norfolk and Delegates Cole, Pogge, and Barlow as the Committee to invite the Governor's Cabinet, the Justices of the Supreme Court of Virginia, the Chairman and President of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, and other distinguished persons to be the guests of the Joint Assembly.

The President appointed Senators Colgan and Stosch and Delegates Hamilton, Cox, and Hall as the Committee to invite His Excellency, the Governor, to be the guest of the Joint Assembly.

The President appointed Senators Saslaw and Norment and Delegates Morgan, Ingram, and BaCote as the Committee to invite Michael Beschloss to be the guest of the Joint Assembly.

The Committee to invite the Governor's Cabinet, the Justices of the Supreme Court of Virginia, the Chairman and President of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, and other distinguished guests, subsequently presented the following, who were formally received by the Joint Assembly:

Member of Council for the City of Williamsburg:

The Honorable Robert A. Braxton

Chairman and President of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation:
Colin G. Campbell

Members of the Governor's Cabinet:

The Honorable Wayne M. Turnage, Chief of Staff
The Honorable Robert S. Bloxom, Secretary of Agriculture and Forestry
The Honorable Katherine K. Hanley, Secretary of the Commonwealth
The Honorable Thomas R. Morris, Secretary of Education
The Honorable Jody M. Wagner, Secretary of Finance
The Honorable L. Preston Bryant, Jr., Secretary of Natural Resources

Justice of the Supreme Court of Virginia:

The Honorable Leroy Rountree Hassell, Sr., Chief Justice

Former Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia:

The Honorable John H. Hager

Former Speaker of the House of Delegates:

The Honorable Thomas W. Moss, Jr.

The Committee to invite the Governor subsequently presented His Excellency, Timothy M. Kaine, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, who was formally received by the Joint Assembly.

The Committee to invite the guest speaker subsequently presented Michael Beschloss, who was formally received by the Joint Assembly.

The President of the Joint Assembly requested Mr. Colin G. Campbell, Chairman and President of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, to address the Joint Assembly.

Mr. Campbell addressed the Joint Assembly as follows:

Mr. Speaker, Governor Kaine, Lieutenant Governor Bolling, Chief Justice Hassell, Senator Colgan, Michael Beschloss, distinguished members of the Senate and House of Delegates, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I am honored to welcome you to Colonial Williamsburg and the House of Burgesses in the Virginia Capitol of 1705. This quadrennial commemorative session occurs on the site where representative democracy in Virginia threw aside its colonial shackles and reached for independence. This Capitol, a restoration of the first one that sat on this spot, was at the heart of our Revolutionary city. The man who would lead the fight, General George Washington, received his first acclaim here, having impressed the colonial leadership with his military skills in the French and Indian Wars. And here a country lawyer by the name of Patrick Henry would decry the powers of tyranny and the arbitrariness of a distant king. Some say the first shots of the Revolution were fired at Lexington, and in a literal sense that's true, but in a substantive sense, Patrick Henry unleashed the first volley in this room, a volley that inspired cries of treason when he attacked and denounced the Stamp Act. And it was also here that George Mason proposed the Virginia Declaration of Rights, precursor of the Bill of Rights, explicitly embracing the rights of citizens in the highest laws of the land.

Such were the great events of the past; the rumblings of revolution, the foundations of nationhood, removed perhaps but not so removed that we cannot reach back and understand, and that's what we try to do here every day. Colonial Williamsburg works to cut the distance between the past and the present, to make the events of long ago immediate. It's a challenge. Writing, speech, clothes all were different; so

were the social customs and it was certainly a far less egalitarian society. For these reasons and for all the many industrial and technological advancements over the years since, the eighteenth-century experience may appear removed from our lives and experience today. But, I would argue that the distance is not as great as it might seem. The Burgesses sought to craft the laws and policies of a demanding colonial culture. There were issues of education, issues of infrastructure, issues of law and order. Above all, there were issues that simply emerged from different points of view, different philosophies of governments.

Of course, the specific circumstances of the eighteenth century defined that era just as the issues that you are confronting define these times. Still, the dynamics of resolution and the dependence upon citizen participation to achieve political objectives bears a strong similarity to today's realities. Historian Joseph Ellis in his latest book, *American Creation*, says that, of necessity, these early legislators improvised. Certainly they were a cerebral, committed group of individuals, but still, as Ellis wrote, a lot of lawmaking amounted to pragmatic response to rapidly-moving events beyond human control. The Burgesses and later the elected representatives of the Commonwealth of Virginia were constantly pressed to find creative, workable answers and how else would you describe what you do today? Indeed, the legislative process—sorting out differences, molding compromises, providing leadership—is essentially the same. The gilded coaches and the powdered wigs have gone away, but the trials and tribulations, as well as the satisfactions of making laws in a constantly changing society, endured. Though it may not ease your deliberations and choices, it may be comforting to know that you share a kinship with those who preceded you, even those who once occupied this sacred space where we gather today.

I am confident that those early patriots, knowing that representative democracy was still thriving in Virginia in 2008, would feel immense pride. And, I further suggest that they would be gratified and pleased with the homage that you pay to their efforts today. In effect, by being here, you acknowledge that history passed this way. Just as European civilization built upon the classical forms of Greece and Rome, Americans working here in Williamsburg built anew once more, extracting lessons from past triumphs and past failures, in firm conviction that they could make something better. Historian Douglas Southall Freeman perhaps expressed it best when he said, "We Virginians do not go to the storied shrines of the past to do worship, but rather to gain inspiration." At this spot in this historic town of Williamsburg, where the grandest experiment in political freedom and representative democracy took root, I hope you will find your own comfort and your own inspiration.

Again, welcome.

The President of the Joint Assembly thanked Mr. Campbell for addressing the Joint Assembly.

The President of the Joint Assembly requested His Excellency, Timothy M. Kaine, Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, to address the Joint Assembly.

The Governor addressed the Joint Assembly as follows:

Mr. Speaker, thank you for the invitation and I applaud the organizers, who upon the return of Tim Kaine to Williamsburg, sought to have all events indoors. It is very toasty and warm here and very dry. It is a delight to come back two years since the day of the inauguration. When we gathered here, the weather there was challenged, but it was a beautiful day and it is a beautiful day today to be with so many of you.

This is an important occasion. It is important that we come together every four years in this session. When the first session was held in 1934, this renovation/reconstruction of the Capitol had just opened. It is interesting to think about that year and then to think about 2007 and what we celebrated with the reopening of our Capitol in Richmond. These pivotal moments are important moments to celebrate and it is good to gather and do that. Virginia is a state that reveres traditions like these, traditions and anniversaries, and we have many of them.

First, I think we should all acknowledge that many in this room worked very, very hard to make 2007 a truly magical time. Colin and so many of you in this room took the moment and turned it into a year of magic and I would like to ask all to just give a round of applause for those who may be present.

And there are more anniversaries and traditions on the horizon. We gather here every four years. In 2011, Virginia will begin the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of the beginning of the Civil War. Work is already underway in the General Assembly to pull together the committee to explore that and tell the story and learn lessons. In 2019, a very powerful anniversary that we will look forward to with excitement, both an anniversary of power and then also an anniversary that is bittersweet. First the 400th anniversary of the creation of the General Assembly on Jamestowne Island and the 400th anniversary of the institution of slavery and the coming of African Americans to Virginia and North American soil. Then, in 2026, we will celebrate the 200th anniversary of the death of Thomas Jefferson, that great son of Central Virginia, who spent time here in Williamsburg and then went on to a career of such fame and contribution to Virginia.

So these landmark moments and the anniversaries come, seemingly one after another, and they give us an opportunity to connect with things that are very powerful. First, these anniversary moments and these traditions do, as Colin just said, inspire us, and we need inspiration. We are all in our own ways probably too often sunk into the minutia and into the busyness of our daily activities, and the opportunity to take an anniversary or tradition to step back from that busyness and look at the grand scheme is very important. We are inspired when we touch the traditions and the principles and the ideals that are, if not timeless, at least venerable of 400 years in the making and those traditions and the stories of the individuals, such as Colin has mentioned, are truly about inspiring us to be better.

The anniversaries and traditions are also humbling. Being humbled has much to recommend it, and it is something that we all have to think about, maybe especially in this line of work. Because the anniversaries, as we think about the stories and the ideals and principles, we are also always confronted in the past and today with the knowledge that the individuals who we read about might have had wonderful ideals, but often fell short of the ideals that they had, just as we do. And it is important to remember that, because if we remember the fact that we and others can have great ideas but fall short, it can help us to keep the proper perspective about ourselves, but also hopefully give us some energy to maybe close that gap that always exists between the idealized and the actual everyday.

The marvel isn't that great leaders can also be petty people and occasionally do petty things. Instead, the thing that is wonderful is how humble human beings can occasionally do marvelous things. We have a speaker today who has made this study, how many times ordinary people are touched with the capacity to do extraordinary and marvelous things.

Michael Beschloss is the seminal presidential historian in the United States, writer of numerous books, nine books I believe, largely focused on the history of the presidency. The one book that I have read that made a huge impression on me was one of the two volumes that Michael wrote dealing with secret tape recordings that President Johnson made when he was President of the United States. I found that book so frightening you'll be happy to know that I dismantled the tape recording equipment that had been historically part of the Governor's office. I worried some of you when I said that. Michael has written broadly about presidential histories and has been commented by some of those who followed his career. There are many biographers of presidents. There are very few in the country who really write broad biographies of the institution of the presidency and Michael Beschloss has made that his career.

He is a son of Chicago and has degrees from Williams and Harvard, but he also has connections that are important in Virginia. His wife is on the Board here in Colonial Williamsburg. Michael has also had an association both with the Miller Center for Study of the Presidency at the University of Virginia but also at the Monticello Foundation.

It gives me great pleasure to bring to us the reason for gathering today, who will enlighten us, historian Michael Beschloss.

Mr. Beschloss addressed the Joint Assembly as follows:

Governor, thank you so much. The Governor was being discreet. What he didn't mention to you was that L.B.J. not only taped his private conversations with people without their knowledge, he even taped his conversations with his wife without her knowledge on the telephone, which I do not recommend for any marriage, although she had a pretty good sense of humor about it. But I loved hearing Governor Kaine speak from the heart. I think the people who served in this room three or four centuries ago would love to know that Virginia has a Governor with as enormous a sense of history as Governor Kaine does. Thank you so much for those kind words.

He spoke so fluently without a note that he reminded me that other leaders without his talent sometimes actually employ speech writers. I know that doesn't happen in Virginia, but in some other states their leader is not of the caliber of people who can speak that way. I remember, actually, since the Governor mentioned Lyndon Johnson, L.B.J. once asked one of his aides to write a speech for him. The guy came in with a speech that was a long text and began with a great quotation from Aristotle; as Aristotle said, blah, blah, blah. And Johnson said to the guy, "It's a great speech; I like the draft, but there is a problem." The aide said, "What's the problem, boss?" Johnson said, "The problem is no one in this audience is going to know who Aristotle was, so just keep the opening quotation but change it to 'as my Daddy said.'" It seemed to work for him, but my guess is that for historians it is probably not a good idea for me to take on those tendencies.

In any case, I couldn't be more delighted to be here. The highest compliment I can pay you all is to say that there is no state in this country where there is a larger sense of history than there is here in the Commonwealth of Virginia. I don't think there are many Virginia children who grow up without knowing about Jamestown and the first representative assembly in Colonial Williamsburg, the Virginia dynasty, Virginia's role in the early period of this country all the way to 2008. And I wish that were true in every single one of the other 49 states. I am not sure that it is. Some of our family's happiest memories have been here at Colonial Williamsburg, as the Governor was kind enough to mention. My wife is a trustee under Colin Campbell's great leadership. One of the great side benefits is that when we come to trustee meetings, our boys are now thirteen and eleven. We live in Washington, DC, but we bring them along, which started when they were about five and three. My earliest memory of coming here for a trustee's meeting was, our boys, then five and three, were wearing tricorner hats and trying to kill each other, which was not unusual at that age and not that seldom now, unfortunately. But I pointed over to the stocks and referred to one of my wife's fellow trustees. I said, "You know, if you guys keep up this behavior, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor is going to put you both in the stocks." I thought that would do it, but they said, "We know Justice O'Connor. She is much too nice to do something like that." And so they kept on fighting. So it didn't work very well. But those are the kind of experiences that you can have not only here in Colonial Williamsburg but all over Virginia.

Colin was talking a little bit earlier about history and how it is practiced here in Colonial Williamsburg and elsewhere in Virginia. I think sometimes we forget the difference between history and current events. We look at a president, for instance, and we sometimes think that we know almost everything that there is to know about him, because presidents these days are covered with such intensity, but there are a few things that you can find out about an event or a leader or a culture like Williamsburg if you wait. For instance, one of those ingredients is information. If you wait long enough, you are going to get all sorts of information about a president or a place like Colonial Williamsburg that you won't get in real time. In presidential terms, for instance, I oftentimes think about the fact that John Kennedy, when he was President, met with British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan. I have read the newspapers that came out of the time saying that the two men discussed the Soviet Union and other great events, but later on I

got some notes that were taken actually inside the meeting by someone who was there. As far as I could see, most of the meeting was Kennedy complaining to Macmillan about bad press coverage of his wife, Jackie. He was going on and on and Macmillan was wiser and he finally said, "Jack, brush it off. It is just the press." And Kennedy got angry when he heard this and he said, "Well, that's easy for you to say, Harold. How would you like if the British press wrote that your wife, Lady Dorothy, was a drunk?" . . . which I think she was actually. Macmillan said, "Well, it wouldn't bother me if they wrote that. I would just issue a statement saying, 'You should have seen her mother.'" It's the kind of thing that, if you wait long enough, you begin to get the texture of a relationship, but you may not see it real time. Same thing here at Williamsburg. You know, the archaeology, just to name one tool, is showing us things about the people who lived and worked here. Day by day, we're learning things that are new all the time.

And the other thing that is probably more important is hindsight. You know we were all in the middle of a presidential campaign. We all have, probably most of us, pretty intense views about what should happen and what's going to happen. But one wonderful thing about history is that if you wait decades, things don't look so different in retrospect from the way that they may have at the time. Because if you wait some time, time has a way of showing you what may have been important about a period and certain things that people were obsessed with at the time may turn out not to be so important. I always think, for instance, of Harry Truman, who went back to Missouri in 1953 with a popularity rating of 22 percent. And I looked at the data. Why was that? Unpopular war. There was some petty corruption. An amazing number of people said that Truman used language that was unworthy of a President. The story, this one a true one, was once told that Truman was asked by a reporter what he thought of, I think Richard Nixon, and Truman's reply was, "I think Nixon is full of manure." That's what he said, but Truman aides talked to Mrs. Truman and said, "Couldn't you get the boss to improve this a little bit?" She said, "You have no idea how long it took for me to get him to use the word 'manure.'" That's what people thought was important in 1953. But here we are. In retrospect, much more important was that Truman was the President that devised the strategy that allowed us ultimately to win the Cold War.

The main subject that I wanted to talk about today is one that is so woven into the history of Virginia, I cannot tell you, and that is political courage. Because I think that in our culture and certainly in the presidency, the leader who really invented the idea of political courage as something we expect of our leaders is George Washington. And that came from his education and his upbringing, from the time he spent here in Williamsburg and further. This is someone who felt that if this country was going to survive you had to have leaders who, when they were presented with a difficult challenge, were able to say, "Yes, I want to be popular. I want to get reelected." But there are certain crucial moments when something else is more important. And the moment I think that really encapsulated it is in 1795. In August that year, George Washington was in his study at Mount Vernon, where probably all of you have been more than once, and it was a dark night and the rain was falling. There were almost biblical thunderstorms and that dove of peace weathervane on top of the house was spinning and Washington was feeling anxious and tortured, which was not very normal for George Washington. And the reason was, he was near the end of his presidency and he had become convinced that the British were posing an imminent danger to the survival of the United States. They were attacking our ships on the Atlantic, they were causing trouble for our settlers on the western frontier, and he thought that the only way for the country to survive would be to make a treaty with the British that would stop this, so he sent John Jay to London. When Jay came back, Washington looked at the treaty; he knew it would stop a war with England that we could not win, but he also knew that it would release the hounds of hell on him. And so it did. People were irate at Washington. They were sending him letters saying, "You should be impeached." Some said he should be assassinated. Even here in Virginia there were veterans who had served under Washington during the Revolution who had raised glasses in taverns saying, "We wish a speedy death to General Washington." People were so angry that so soon after the Revolution, Americans would have to make concessions to the British in this treaty. For whatever it was worth, it was worse for John Jay, who was burned all over the place in effigy. Jay had something of a sense of humor. He said at the time, "I can walk the length of the United States at night merely by the light of all my burning effigies," which is probably true. But the point is that, for

Washington, it caused him to leave the presidency quite miserable. The man who had been loved almost unanimously and admired by Americans left the presidency with a lot of Americans very angry at him. And Washington was not immune to this. He was heartbroken. Martha Washington felt that this heartbreak had a lot to do with the fact that her husband died prematurely two years after he left the presidency.

So the point I'm making is: why would Washington have done such a thing? In modern terms, if he had had some political consultants, they might have told him, "You have got another year or two in office, why cause this misery for yourself? Buck it to your successor. You know, keep popular." You oftentimes hear that kind of advice from people who are not great leaders, but none of that would have occurred to Washington. He knew how difficult it had been to achieve independence. He was a person of a character that it wouldn't have occurred to him that being popular was more important than doing something to help the country survive. And so he did. Had Washington not made that sacrifice, we might not be in a United States today. That is how important it was. In terms of history, later presidents realized that they had to operate the way that George Washington did, and there has been an expectation that when there is a crucial moment, like the one that George Washington faced, a president sometimes has to rise up and say, "If I'm not going to get reelected, if I'm not going to be popular, so be it."

Abraham Lincoln, for instance, in 1864, was facing reelection. He was told by his advisors, "You are going to lose." And they said, "The reason that you are going to lose is that Northern voters are impatient with the Civil War and also you changed the signals." They said, "It is one thing if we were still fighting this war merely to bring the South back—people agreed with that—but you issued this Emancipation Proclamation, which people are very angry about. They don't want to keep on fighting." They told Lincoln, "The only way you can win reelection is to cancel the Emancipation." And Lincoln was briefly tempted. He felt it would be a disaster if he lost the election to McClellan. The country might survive, but something else kicked in and that was Lincoln had a sense of history. He said, "As much as I want to win reelection, I essentially want to be Abraham Lincoln more and I can't do that by doing something as shabby as canceling the Emancipation." He did win reelection, but of course in the end he paid for that courage by losing his life, because that is why John Wilkes Booth assassinated Lincoln, because of his upset over freeing the slaves.

One more presidential example of this: Harry Truman in the twentieth century. In the spring of 1948, Truman had to deal with a very controversial question: Do you recognize a Jewish state in the Middle East? There were people of goodwill on all sides of the question. His Secretary of State, a great Virginian, George Marshall, told him, "Don't do it. I might resign if you do this." Truman's wife, although a wonderful person in many ways, was pretty limited. She did not allow Jewish guests in their house and she was hardly going to advise Truman to make this sacrifice. On the other side, Truman had an old business partner who was Jewish, who said, "Harry, my people need this help. You know I have never asked you for a favor." It had an influence on Truman. But the ultimate thing that decided it was coming back to history. Truman was a reader of history. It does help a leader. When he grew up in Missouri he read his eyes out. He used to say he read every book in the Independence Public Library, which I always thought was an exaggeration until I actually went to the Independence Public Library, which is not that big, so I think he probably did. But his parents had told him, "We are too poor to replace your glasses, so you can't do sports." So he read. And the thing that had the biggest influence on him in the spring of 1948 was actually not in the public library, but was a book that his mother bought from a traveling salesman with a monumentally politically incorrect title of *Great Men and Famous Women*, the idea that women could not be great, only famous. The subtitle was "From Nebuchadnezzar to Sarah Bernhardt." And so when Truman was coping with *Do I recognize Israel, which will allow that country to survive?* he remembered not Nebuchadnezzar or Sarah Bernhardt. He remembered reading in that book about Cyrus the Great. Cyrus, 2000 years ago, had brought the Jewish people to the Middle East. Truman was a huge reader of biblical history. His favorite Psalm was, "Yea, we wept when we remembered Zion." And so for Truman, knowing history put this in context and allowed him to say, "Well, people might be angry. I might even lose reelection over this conceivably, but it will give me a larger historical role."

So that is what history does and that is only one of the many things that Virginia has contributed to the rest of the country. And my point would be, on the presidential level, if you don't have this kind of political courage, you don't have things like the end of the Cold War or the winning of the Civil War in a way that frees the African-American people, all the way back to the time of George Washington. Had George Washington not had those kinds of guts, this country probably would not have survived. And I often think that if we ever have a new president who comes to office not knowing how important political courage is, take that person to Mount Vernon, right here in Virginia, up to the bedroom in which Washington died in 1799. Almost his last words were three words that I would like to think of as a message to later Americans and later generations, and those three words were, "Don't be afraid." That was a very important message.

One final thought and that pertains to everyone in this room. One of the wonderful traditions that has remained strong all through the history of Virginia for centuries is that, and it is not always remembered elsewhere. We Americans know that it is only good for the country when we have political differences to duke them out, you know, don't restrain yourself. The best political battles in the end achieve the best policy. But at the same time, Virginians recognize that when you're doing that, we are all Americans. The differences can't get personal. You have to have friendships across the aisle. That is not always remembered in Washington these days and in other states. It is remembered in Virginia, I think, more than it is in many other places. When Lincoln was inaugurated in 1861, he spoke of the "mystic cords of memory that stretched to every patriot's grave." What he meant by that is that, at least in 1861, the sacrifices that led to independence were so recent Americans knew how tough it was, but they weren't very willing to let this country break up over political differences that might be transitory. I think not everyone in the United States remembers that message. Virginians, both citizens and leaders, know it so well because they understand history. I think that has a big, positive influence on the political culture here, which I wish would spread throughout the country.

And since Governor Kaine began by mentioning Lyndon Johnson, I will close with a Johnson story that makes the point. In the spring of 1964, L.B.J. was trying to get the Senate to pass a civil rights act. It was tough going because many southern Democrats were not supporting it. So L.B.J. called up the Republican minority leader, Everett Dirkson, and said, "Let's talk about civil rights." Dirkson was a Senator from my state of Illinois whom I remember as a kid watching on TV. My little brother and I thought he looked like Mr. Ed and talked like him. I actually heard him on these tapes and he does sound like Mr. Ed. But, the key thing is Johnson had known Dirkson for years. In fact, Dirkson and Johnson spent a lot of time in Virginia. They hunted, they fished, they were good friends. They disagreed about a lot of things politically but there was a huge relationship there. That was something Johnson could call on. In the spring of 1964, Johnson calls up Dirkson and essentially says, "I know you have got some doubts about this civil rights bill, Ev, but look at it this way. I need Republicans. If you support it, it is going to pass and if that happens it is going to change history." And he told Dirkson if all that happens, 100 years from now schoolchildren in America will only know two names, Abraham Lincoln and Everett Dirkson. Dirkson heard that and liked what he heard and supported the bill. My guess is that not even in Virginia, with its enormous sense of history and wonderful history education, perhaps not every schoolchild knows the name of Everett Dirkson, but at least our two boys do.

Thank you so much for asking me. Godspeed on this great occasion.

The President of the Joint Assembly thanked Mr. Beschloss for addressing the Joint Assembly.

The Gentleman from Spotsylvania, Delegate Cole, offered the following resolution:

RESOLUTION OF THE JOINT ASSEMBLY

Expressing appreciation to Michael Beschloss.

WHEREAS, Michael Beschloss was born on November 30, 1955, in Chicago, Illinois, received an undergraduate degree from Williams College and an MBA from Harvard Business School; and

WHEREAS, Michael Beschloss, an award-winning historian of the United States presidency, is the author of nine books including his most recent work, *Presidential Courage: Brave Leaders and How They Changed America, 1789-1989*; and

WHEREAS, Michael Beschloss is the author of other books, including the highly praised *The Conquerors: Roosevelt, Truman and the Destruction of Hitler's Germany, 1941-1945*, an immediate national bestseller, *Taking Charge* and *Reaching for Glory*; and

WHEREAS, Michael Beschloss serves as the NBC News' Presidential Historian, the first major television network to create such a position, appears on all NBC News programs, hosts the "American Minute with Michael Beschloss," on NBC's *Today* show, serves as a commentator on PBS's "The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer," and writes a regular column for *Newsweek* called "Traveling through History with Michael Beschloss"; and

WHEREAS, Michael Beschloss is a trustee of the White House Historical Association and the National Archives Foundation, a member of the Governing Board of the Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia, a former trustee of the Urban Institute and the Thomas Jefferson Foundation (Monticello); and

WHEREAS, Michael Beschloss holds three honorary doctorates and frequently lectures both in the United States and abroad; and

WHEREAS, Michael Beschloss has been an historian at the Smithsonian Institution, a Senior Associate Member at St. Antony's College (Oxford), and a Fellow of the Annenberg Foundation; and

WHEREAS, Michael Beschloss in his quest to educate his readers through his works has consistently shown his commitment toward expertly portraying our presidents; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the General Assembly of Virginia recognize Michael Beschloss as one of the nation's leading presidential historians and express its deep appreciation to him for his significant contributions made in the study of United States presidents; and, be it

RESOLVED FURTHER, That the General Assembly of Virginia recognize that Michael Beschloss joins the ranks of many distinguished Americans who have addressed the commemorative session of the "oldest continuous legislative body in the Western Hemisphere"; and, be it

RESOLVED FINALLY, That the Clerk of the House of Delegates prepare a copy of this resolution for presentation to Michael Beschloss, as an expression of the esteem in which he is held by the General Assembly of Virginia.

The resolution was agreed to.

The Senator from Norfolk, Senator Northam, offered the following resolution:

RESOLUTION OF THE JOINT ASSEMBLY

Proceedings of the General Assembly Commemorative Session at Williamsburg, held January 26, 2008.

RESOLVED, That the Journals of the House of Delegates and the Senate of Virginia and the proceedings of the Joint Assembly held this day in the reconstructed Capitol at Williamsburg, Virginia, be engrossed in a volume entitled "Proceedings of the General Assembly of Virginia at the Reconstructed Capitol at Williamsburg," and that the cost of the engrossing be paid from the contingent fund of the General Assembly.

RESOLVED FURTHER, That copies of the Journal of the session of the General Assembly, held this day in the reconstructed Capitol at Williamsburg, Virginia, be printed.

The resolution was agreed to.

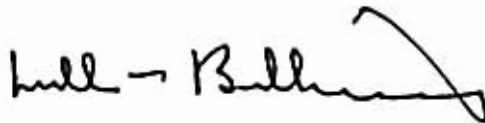
On motion of the Senator from Fauquier, Senator Vogel, the Joint Assembly adjourned sine die; whereupon the Senate returned to its chamber.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the Journal of the House of Delegates in relation to the Joint Assembly held in the Reconstructed Capitol at Williamsburg, Virginia on Saturday January 26, 2008.

/s/ Bruce F. Jamerson
Clerk of the House of Delegates and
Clerk of the Joint Assembly

Upon the Senators' return to the General Court Chamber, the Chair was resumed.

On motion of Senator Colgan, the Senate adjourned until Monday, January 28, 2008, at 12 m., to meet at the Capitol in the City of Richmond.



William T. Bolling
President of the Senate



Susan Clarke Schaar
Clerk of the Senate